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## SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES

Etymologien beweist man nicht, sie müssen durch die ihnen inwohnende Schlagkraft wirken. Aber man kann bei einer guten Etymologie doch jederzeit manches anführen, was zu ihrer Bestätigung dient.—Skutsch, Festschrift C. F. W. Müller, 1900, p. 85.

### 1. *Anviso*

The word occurs also as *ambiso*; once, *Fuero Juzgo* p. 3 V. L. 30, I have found *ambisso*, an incorrect spelling as shown by the rimes S. Mill. 9 *ambisa*: *guisa*: *divisa*: *aguisa*, 460 *parayso*: *promiso*: *anviso*: *mtso*, *Milagr.* 14 *paraíso*: *mtso*: *anviso*: *viso*.

*Anviso* < \**ante visu* as *annado* < *ante natu*. The intermediate stage is seen in *Fuero Juzgo* p. 3 V. L. 33 *ant viso*. The *Thesaurus* has *antevidet* (Prud. apoth. 804) and *ante vident* (Claud. 20, 500).

For the spelling *ambiso*, s. Meyer-Lübke I §484. For the formation *ambisa* S. Mill. 9 = sagacity, s. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* §80, 3; Meyer-Lübke II §486. Cf. *vista*.

As for the meaning of *anviso* = foreseeing, far-seeing, sagacious etc., *anviso* has joined the large number of perfect passive participles which have taken on active meaning, or more strictly in our case, present active meaning, s. Nebrija (Viñaza c. 402), *Correas*, *Arte de la Lengua española* (Viñaza) p. 185, *Bello-Cuervo* §1117, *Diez* p. 956 (= III p. 264), Meyer-Lübke III §13, *Lang*, *Canc. gall.-cast.* I p. 162. Cf. *auanuisto*: *Prim. Crón. Gen.* p. 541 a 15 *enuio a aquel onrrado don Yugo abbat de Crunniego a rogarle que enuiasse un uaron sabio et auanuisto en las cosas que eran de fazer; mirado* (Nebrija); *percibido*: *Fuero Juzgo* p. 2 b *Deve* (sc. El fazedor de las leyes) *seer muy percibido en dar conseio*, *Sacrif.* 72 *Dixole* (sc. à su compaña) *que velase, soviesse percibida; apercibido* (Cuervo, *Dicc.*);<sup>1</sup> *It. avveduto* (Diez).

In *enuiso*, which I have found as early as Calila (Allen) p. 60,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Old Fr. *percëu*, *apercëu* Tobler, *Mélanges* I p. 186; Old Port. *apercebudo* Lang, *Denis* p. 124.

5 etc. and as late as Lucas Fernandez pp. 145, 206,<sup>1</sup> the frequent prefix *en-* has replaced *an-*.

A Latin *ante visu*, at least in Spain, is further attested by the learned form *anteviso*: Fuero Juzgo p. 3 b *El iuez deve seer entendudo en iudgar derecho: deve seer muy anteviso . . .*<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Fr. *par cœur*, Sp. *de coro*

1. Tobler, Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Ak., 1904, p. 1272, has shown that *cœur* in such phrases as *savoir par cœur* etc. is connected with *cor*, not with *chorus* as D'Ovidio suggested. He foresaw also that an investigation of the history of Sp. *saber de coro* would not change this fact. The instances Tobler lacked at the time to corroborate his idea, I supply here with the pleasure a grateful pupil feels when he can be of some service to his revered teacher.

Old Sp. *cuer* = memory, *saber de cuer* = to know by heart. This form is the predecessor of *saber de coro*. Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 215) *E los clerigos ensinen á los fijos de la iglesia é á los infantes el credo yn Deum, et el pater noster, asi que lo tengan de cor* (V. L. *Assi que lo saban decor*).<sup>3</sup> Sacrificio 164 *Dice* (sc. el Sacerdot) *essas palabras, ca de cor* (Janer cort) *las retiene*. Alex. 18 *Nada non oluidaua* (sc. Alexandre) *de quanto que oya, Nunca oya* (l. oye) *razon que en (!) coraçon* (l. *cuer*) *non tenia* (Morel-Fatio 18 *non le caye de mano quanto que veye*). 38 (Alexander speaks) *De cuer* (M.-F. 39 *cor*) *sey los actores, de liuro non he cura*. 717 *Porque tenie* (sc. Alexandre) *los nomnes todos de coraçon*. 1637 *Escreuio* (sc. Apelles) *[y] la cuenta ca de cor* (M.-F. 1778 *coraçon*) *la sabia*. Appoll. 597 *Reçibieron* (sc. el conçeio de Tarso) *al Rey commo ha su ssennyor, Cantando los responssos de libro e de cor*. Boc. Oro p. 157 (Timaeus to Socrates) *Si algund omne te encontrase en la carrera e te preguntase por alguna cosa de saber, é terrnias por bien de lo dexar*

<sup>1</sup> The glossary reads *enviso*, the original ed. has at least once (p. 145) *embiso*, Cañete prints both times *en viso*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fuero de Sepúlveda p. 76 *Juez sabidor, é anviso, é entendedor*.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin text, La Fuente, Hist. de las Universidades [I], 1884, p. 58, reads: "Doceant autem clerici filios Ecclesiae, et infantes, ut symbolum et orationem Dominicam memoriter teneant."

*fasta que tornases a tu posada a catar en tus libros? E pues esto non es bien pugna de saber lo que sopieres de coraçon.* 7 Part. (1807) I pp. 20 *Ca saber las leyes non es tan solamente en aprender et decorar (V. L. en aprender de corazon) las letras dellas, mas en saber el su verdadero entendimiento.* 258 *et por ende deben (sc. los exôrcistas) saber estas conjuraciones de cuer porque las sepan decir quando menester fuere.*<sup>1</sup> Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 94a 49 *nunqua Julio Cesar tantas batallas ouo ni tantos embargos, ni ouo tanto de ueer que dexasse de leer ni de estudiar noche ni dia, et de aprender muy de coraçon.* 164a 44 *et retenie (sc. Sant Poncio) bien de coraçon lo que aprendie.*

During all this time there existed also *coro* < *choru* e. g. S. Dom. 88, S. Mill. 306.

The earliest instances of *de coro* which I have noted, belong to the sixteenth century. But the number of Spanish texts at my disposal is small. Moreover I have not read them systematically. The cases are: Torres Naharro I p. 386 (Moñiz to Osorio, who belittles something—the context is not quite clear to me) *¿Qué decís, que no os agrada? No sabeis el bien de coro: Voto á Dios, para ensalada Que vale su peso d'oro.* II p. 313 (here too the context is not clear to me) *Pues á osadas Que cualquier danza de espadas, Que os la sabia de coro.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II p. 202 Pastor. *¡Cuerpo ahora del rey moro, Alegais por buena cuenta Her contra Dios herramienta Y encrabballo como á toro!* Herrero. *No, hermano, mas sé de coro Que su corazon cubierto(,) Convino que fuese abierto Do manó nuestro tesoro.* Venegas, Agon[ía de la Muerte] punt. 4 cap. 3. *Vemos que la memoria del celébro se halla en el corazón virtualmente, de donde tuvo origen esta habla Castellana, con que decimos tomar de coro, por decir tomar de corde, ò de corazón.*<sup>2</sup> Villalón, Viaje de Turquía p. 19b (NBAE II) *Vinome a la mano vn buen libro de medicina . . . y nunca hazia sino leer en él . . . y como yo tengo buena memoria, tomélo todo de coro.* Autos (Rouanet) III p. 334, 145 (Bobo to Amor Divino) *Señor, ya*

<sup>1</sup> The Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*, probably following one of the earlier editions of the 7 Part., none of which is accessible to me, has *de coro* instead of *de cuer* and continues: "porque las sepan decir de coro, quando menester fuere."

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*.

sabra de coro que yo no so tan culpado, pues a mi me an cristianado; que aquestotro, qu'es moro, meresçe pesar doblado. Timoneda(?) (Pedroso) p. 84a Cristóbal. Pues, Pedro, sé mi pastor Y apascienta mis ovejas. Pedro. Quisiera, buen Mayoral, Saberte honrar muy de coro. Barahona de Soto (Rodríguez Marín) p. 736 Y así, el que vive en miserable vida Tenga este verso escrito muy de coro: "Que nunca medra quien de sí se olvida." Fonsec. Vid. de Christ. tom. I. lib. I. cap. 2. Pero la doctrina de Christo Señor nuestro la hizo tan notoria, que saben ahora de coro los niños lo que los sabios entonces no alcanzaron.<sup>1</sup>

Small as the number of instances is, we can add to the meanings of *de coro* given by the dictionaries, that of "certainly, firmly, well."

2. Perhaps *de coro* came into existence in the following way. Very early from *de cuer* (*cor*) a verb *decorar* = *tener de cuer* was formed. Similarly Prov. *decorar*, cf. Tobler, op. cit. p. 1277 note. As to such formations, s. Paul, *Prinzip. d. Sprachgesch.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 226. S. Oria 170 *Non echó esti sueño la duenna en olvido Ni lo que li dixiera Garcia su marido: Recontógelo todo a Munno su querido: El decorólo todo como bien entendido.* 171 *Bien lo decoró eso como todo lo al, Bien gelo contó ella, non lo aprendió (el) mal, Por end(e) de la su vida fizo libro caudal: Yo ende lo saque (esto) de esi su misal.* Alfonso, *Lapidario* f.º 111 r.º b et presta (sc. la piedra Anxoniz) alos moços pora aprender leer et pora decorar todos los saberes. Calila p. 4, 10 (Berzebuey speaks) *e ley libros, e conosçi e sope sus entendimientos, e afirmóse enel mi coraçon lo que ley delas escripturas delos filosofos. Et decoré las palabras delos sabios, e las questiones que fazian vnos aotros, e las disputaçones que fazian entre sy.* 7 Part. I p. 20 *Ca saber las leyes non es tan solamente en aprender et decorar las letras dellas, mas en saber el su verdadero entendimiento.* Juan Ruiz (Ducamin) 1200 *Por ende cada vno esta fabla decuere: quien asu enemigo popa a las sus manos muere . . .*

Cf. also *decorado* = *instruido, que sabe de memoria* (Sanchez). S. Mill. 22 *Fue en poco de tiempo el pastor psalteriado, De imnos*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Dicc. Aut. s. v. *Coro*.

*è de canticos sopra bien decorado.* Milagr. 745 *Si ante fo Teofilo bien quisto è amado, Fo depues mas servido è mucho maspreciado: Dios sennero lo sabe, que es bien decorado, Si li venie por Dios è si por el peccado.*

From this *decorar* derives the postverbal \**decoro* = memory, a late formation as the lack of the diphthong shows. It was immediately combined with about the same verbs as *de cuer*. Through haplology then *saber de coro* instead of *saber de decoro*. For cases of *de* instead of *de de*—, s. Rinconete y Cortadillo (Rodríguez Marín) p. 341; Tobler, Mél. p. 286 note.

### 3. *Duecho*

1. Corresponding to O. Fr. *duit d'aucune chose* etc.,<sup>1</sup> O. Pr. *doch*, *dueg de*, *dueich*, *dueitz de*, *dug de*, *du[e]g*;<sup>2</sup> *duitz*, *duh de*,<sup>3</sup> O. Port. *doito de* etc.,<sup>4</sup> we have in Spanish *ducho en* etc.<sup>5</sup> As the sixteenth century is represented in Cuervo only by one instance (from Valdés), I may add a few more. Lucas Fernandez p. 147 *Pues días ha que ño lo he ducho*. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I p. 416 *desque al mal está ducho*, *Es muy recio de volver*. Lope de Rueda (1896) II p. 47 *pudiéraste llamar de veras bienaventurado, si fueras como yo ducho en amores*. Autos (Rouanet) II p. 434, 412 *Ducha estoy a la verdad de semejantes baldones*. And two Asturian cases: Caveda, Poesías sel. en dial. ast.<sup>2</sup> pp. 71 (s. XVII) *una diosa*. . . . *Ducha en treveyos, ducha en esperencia*. 132 (s. XVIII) *ye muy llistu nes guerres Y muy duchu en gobernar*.

Besides *ducho* we find *duecho*. This form is not so rare as Meyer-Lübke, ZrP. XXVII p. 252, and Baist, Krit. Jahresber. VIII, I p. 201, seem to think.<sup>6</sup> Apart from Milagr. 149 *La madre gloriosa duecha de accorrer*, the instance to which Meyer-Lübke and Baist refer, I have noted: Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 209b 28 *las*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richars li Biais 2446 note; Godefroy s. v. *Duire*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Levy, Prov. Suppl.-Wb. s. v. *Dozer*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Levy, op. cit. s. v. *Duire*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lang, ZrP. XXXII p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cuervo, Dicc. s. v.

<sup>6</sup> "Duecho ist nur einmal handschr. bei Berceo überliefert, neben sonst einzig vorhandenem regelmässigem *ducho* (Sp. Spr. 23) . . . ich fürchte, dass *duecho* ein Fehler ist."

*otras bestias brauas que son duechas* (V. L. *duechas* EC, *duchas* OQBN) *de comer los cuerpos muertos*. 210 b 48 *et no eran duchos* (V. L. *duchos* EC etc., *duechos* Q) *de obedecer a ningun sennor estranno*. Encina<sup>1</sup> p. 122 *Quien es duecho de dormir Con el ganado de noche, No creas que no reproche El palaciego vivir*. Garay 399 *Quien de mucho mal es duecho, poco bien le abasta*.<sup>2</sup> Garay (Sbarbi, Refran. VII p. 65) *ya duecha es la loba de la sogá*. D. Quix. I ch. vii *el* (sc. Sancho) *no estaua duecho a andar mucho a pie*. Finally we have the statement of Covarruvias (1674) s. v. *Ducho*: "*Ducho, en language antiguo Castellano, vale tanto como acostumbrado, del verbo Latino duco ducis. xi. ductum, porque la costumbre lleva tras si al hombre, si con particular aduertencia no se vâ a la mano. Algunos dizen duecho. no estoy duecho, no estoy acostumbrado, etc.*"

2. Concerning previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms, I confine myself to the following remarks. Du Cange s. v. *Ductus* mentions a "*Vetus placitum ann. 876 editum a Baluzio in Append. ad Capitul. n. 104*"<sup>3</sup> containing the phrase *mandatarius . . . qui legibus Ductus est*. Carpentier ib. observes: "*Legibus enim ductus, idem mihi est quod, in legibus peritus, exercitatus; unde vetus Gallicum Duit, eodem intellectu, a verbo Duire, docere vel addiscere.*" There follow instances ss. XIV. XV.

Foerster, Rom. Stud. III p. 181, derives Fr. *duit* "kundig," Norm. *deit*, from *doptum*, (Pr. *dohtz* in *ohtz larg*).

Levy enters *doch*—*du[e]g* under *Dozer*, *duitz*—*duh* under *Duire*.

Cornu, Gröber's Grundr. I p. 932, connects *adoito* "acostumado" with *edoctus*. Lang, ZrP. XXXII p. 394, refers for *doito de* etc. to O. Sp. *duecho* and Prov. *duch*, to Lanchetas (who deserves no mention), to Menéndez Pidal, Manual §122,

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. §3, 3, asserts: "en Lucas Fnz. *duecho* < *döctu*." Probably a slip of memory for Encina. I have noted in Lucas Fernandez only *ducho* e. g. p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Cejador y Frauca, La Lengua de Cervantes II s. v. *Ducho*. He continues: "De doctus = docto salió duecho . . ." Not to be found in the ed. of Garay by Sbarbi, Refranero VII. For the correct form of the proverb, s. Valdés, Diál. de la Lengua (Böhmer) p. 383, 35.

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to verify this reference. Nor do I know of other examples of *ductus* = *peritus*. *Educere* = *educare* (Du Cange) is, of course, well known.

2 *ducho* < *ductu*, and to ZrP. XIX p. 535. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, at the latter place, says: "Ob [*doito*] auf *doctus* oder *ductus* zurückzuführen ist, steht übrigens noch nicht fest." In a note appended to this statement she seems to favor *ductus*.

Sanchez, II p. 503, expresses himself thus: "Aunque parece que [*duecho*] viene de *ductus*, creo con mas probabilidad que de *doctus* que significa enseñado y vale tanto muchas veces como *acostumbrado*. Tambien es prueba de esto el diptongo *ue* de *duecho* que suele tomarse de la *o* latina, como *bueno* de *bonus*." According to Cornu, Romania XIII p. 293, *duecho* Milagros 149 = \**duytyo*. (?) Cuervo treats *ducho* and *duecho* under *Ducho*, derives *doito*, Prov. *duich*, *duit*, part. of *duire*, O. Fr. *duit*, *duire* from *ducere*, and confesses: "La forma *duecho* (Covarr.) es menos fácil de explicar en cuanto á la fonética." For an opinion by Menéndez Pidal, s. my note p. 6. Salvioni, Rom. XXXI p. 281, seeks the etymon of *duecho* in *dūctus*. His arguments are opposed by Meyer-Lübke, ZrP. XXVII p. 252, and Baist who, Krit. Jahresber. VIII, p. 201, remarks: "[*duecho*] könnte in einem asturisch-leonesischen Strich lautgerecht sein, nicht im Osten. Aber auch für *doctus* ist dort keine Analogie zu erbringen, *docho* fehlt kastilisch." If I am not mistaken, neither *docto* nor *doto* is found in Spain as early as *duecho*. There remains then only *ductu* as etymon. And that *duecho* comes from *ductu*, I hope to show by the following consideration.

3. Especially in Leonese-Asturian and Navarrese-Aragonese texts, and quite frequently, are noticed, besides the regular forms, some with the unwarranted diphthong *ie* or *ue*. A list of the latter may not be amiss.<sup>1</sup> This list is far from exhausting the matter; it does not even contain all of my material. I have omitted verb-forms, also infinitives and participles and their derivatives, finally words which it would take me here too long to discuss. For my purposes the list is sufficient.

<sup>1</sup> The list was arranged when Menéndez Pidal kindly presented me with a copy of his *Cantar de Mio Cid* I. On p. 150 he brings some cases of *ue* that supplement mine, and for these I refer the reader to him. I have thought it best to avail myself here only of his examples of *frueyt* and *adueyto*.



I. *ie*a) = Spanish *e* < Latin *ai***liegos** Fuero Juzgo p. 16 V. L.<sup>1</sup> 31 Esc. 6.<sup>2</sup> Fuero de Salamanca (1870) pp. 78, 95.b) =  $e < a + ct$ **fiechos** F. Juzgo pp. II V. L. 7 Esc. 6; 9 VV. LL. 24 Esc. 6; 47 Esc. 6.c) =  $e < \bar{e}$ **riegla** F. Juzgo p. 100 V. L. 8 Esc. 1. Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 214). Libros de Astr. III p. 164.**rienes** F. Juzgo p. 109 V. L. 9 Camp.**sied** Sacrificio 22. Milagr. 57. 312. Fuero general de Navarra (1869) pp. 13a, 41b, 48a, 61a, 64a, 101b, 102a, 103ab, 104b, 105b, 106ab, 107b, 108a, 118a (*siedes*), 123a, 124a<sup>3</sup>—50b(*sed*).**sieto**<sup>4</sup> F. Juzgo p. 146 VV. LL. 7 Esc. 6; 30 B. R. 1. F. Navarra pp. 37a, 70a, 100b, 126ab, 128b.d) =  $e < i$ **cabiezas** F. Juzgo p. 9 V. L. 25 Esc. 6.**ciercos** F. Juzgo p. 105 V. L. 32 B. R. 1.<sup>5</sup>**dientro** Concilio de Coyanza (Muñoz p. 215). Libros de Astr. I pp. 121, 122, 123. Rato y Hévía s. v.**yende** F. Juzgo p. 10 V. L. 29 Esc. 3. and Camp.**iuieces** F. Juzgo p. 105 V. L. 7 S. B. "y así otras veces."e) =  $i < \bar{i}$ 

In the following two cases the Castilian forms show an *i* which is unexplained.

1. a) But over against *sin* in Castile, we have *sen* in Leon, Asturias (Rato y Hévía), Galicia (Cuveiro) etc.: Fuero de Avilés 22. Concilio de Leon (Muñoz pp. 81, 84); cf.  $\beta$ . Concilios de Leon (1267) (Esp. Sagr. XXXVI pp. 230, 231, 232 etc.). F. Juzgo pp. iii. ix, xi etc. Alex. 109 (M.-F. 121 reads differently), 121 (M.-F. 133 *syn*—*Sin*), 385 (M.-F. *syn*) etc. Torres Naharro I pp. 226, 228. The form is likewise fre-

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the text has the Castilian form.

<sup>2</sup> From MS Esc. 6 and next to it MS B. R. 1, as will be seen, come most of the instances. According to Hanssen, Conj. leonesa p. 8, the former represents an Asturian version, the latter the Leonese. It is a pity that nothing more definite can be said.

<sup>3</sup> Through influence of *siella*?

<sup>4</sup> If from *sēptu*, Gröber, Arch. lat. Lex. V p. 465.

<sup>5</sup> The text has *circos*. The Castilian form corresponding to the meaning of the passage is *cercos*.

<sup>6</sup> The text reads *alcaldes*, the Latin original, p. 81a note: "De personis iudicium."

quent in Navarre: F. Navarra pp. 7b, 8a, 17a, 20a, 35a, 42b etc.—*senes* 21a, 23b, 74a. Brutails, Documents des Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre pp. 11, 19, 46. *Sen* could be the basis of

β) *sien*. F. Juzgo p. 160a. Concilio de Leon (Muñoz pp. 74, 79 [V. L. *sen*; cf. α]). Carta de Hermandad . . . Valladolid 1293 (Esp. Sagr. XXXVI Ap. pp. clxii, clxiii, clxviii).—*sienes* Leyendas de José (Robles) pp. 191 n., 201 n., 211 n., 214 n. etc.

2. *dumiengo* F. Juzgo p. 13 V. L. 14 Esc. 3. Valuable also on account of the *umlaut*.

f) =  $i < \bar{i}$

*lient* = *linde* F. Navarra p. 120 b.

If a midform with *e* has never existed, how are we to account for the form with *ie*? I venture to suggest that *liende* may be the result of the equation *timpo*: *tiempo* = *linde*: *liende*. If such an equation is admissible, it would likewise explain *dumiengo* and also *sien*.

## II *ue*

a) =  $o < au$

*pueco* F. Juzgo pp. 3 V. L. 17 Esc. 6; 35 V. L. 16 Esc. 5.

b) =  $o < o < au$

*puebres* F. Juzgo pp. VI V. L. 24 S. B., Esc. 6. (*puebles*); 19 V. L. 2 Esc. 6; 29 V. L. 21 Esc. 6. and E. R.; 30 V. L. 18 Esc. 6; 32 V. L. 15 E. R. (*puebles*).

c) =  $o < \bar{o}$

*fuerma* F. Juzgo p. 2 VV. LL. 5 Esc. 6. “y así despues;” 12 Esc. 6

d) =  $o < \bar{u}$

*estuenza* F. Juzgo pp. IV V. L. 15 B. R., Esc. 2. (*estuenze*);<sup>1</sup> 5 V. L. 42 B. R. 3. and Esc. 1. (*estuenze*); 47 V. L. 34 B. R. 1. (*estuenze*); 159 V. L. 19 B. R. 1; 169 V. L. 9 B. R. 1. (*estuenzia*); 171 V. L. 31 B. R. 1. (*estuenzia*). Lope de Rueda I pp. 223 and 225 (*entuenzes*—the word is used by Pablos Lorenzo, simple).<sup>2</sup> Autos III p. 420, 266 (*estuenzes*—Bobo). Lope, Las famosas Asturianas (BAE. XLI p. 482ab *estuenzes*).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text has *estoncia*, in the other cases *estonze*, *estonce*.

<sup>2</sup> A Galician? The same “simple” uses *prepuésito* (p. 194), *conueces* (p. 201). But the same and other words of similar kind (e. g. *neguecios* I p. 149) occur also in the speech of other “simples.”

<sup>3</sup> In the same play appear *miesma* (pp. 473 c, 475 b, 482 c), *nieña* (p. 475 a). If these words were coined by Lope, as others surely are, they nevertheless deserve mentioning for they are well coined, conforming with a tendency of the “lenguaje antiguo” that had not escaped such a strict observer as was the poet.

**luedo** F. Juzgo p. 6 V. L. 10 Esc. 2.

**puelvo** F. Juzgo p. 177 V. L. 7 Malp. 2.

e) =  $u < \ddot{u} + lt$

a) In some community of Leon-Asturias (and of Navarre Aragon?), or at least in the mouths of some individuals, the Latin groups *lt*, *ct* following  $\ddot{u}$  (and even  $\bar{u}$ ) have not prevented the latter vowel from becoming *o*. Thus we find *mocho*: F. Juzgo pp. I V. L. 27 Esc. 6; 22 V. L. 26 E. R.; 24 V. L. 33 E. R. and Esc. 2; 43 V. L. 18 B. R. 2. Carlos Maynes p. 511a (NBAE. VI). Perhaps through Galician influence? Cf. Gal. *moito*, *froita*, Cornu §32. From such a form may have developed

β) **muechas** F. Juzgo p. 24 V. L. 33 S. B.<sup>1</sup>

f) =  $u < \ddot{u} + ct$

a) F. Juzgo p. 156b *así que en aquellos treinta dias non coman condocho* (V. L. *conducho*). \**Docho* then may be considered the midform of

β) **duecho**. At any rate, the etymology *duecho* < *ductu* is further well supported by such unmistakable diphthongized forms from *ducere* as Crón. S. Juan de la Peña (1870) p. 25 *los ditos xpistianos* (!) **indueytos**<sup>2</sup> *de mas abundosa . . . deuocion*; 44 *Muerto el dito Emperador et el departimiento de las tierras et acabamiento adueyto, senyorió . . . Remiro*;<sup>3</sup> 52 *el cuerpo de San Indaleci et de San Jayme . . . fué adueyto por reliquias en Sant Iohan de la Penya*.<sup>4</sup> A[rchiv.] H[ist.] Benedictinas de Santa Cruz de Jaca **adueyto**.<sup>5</sup>

The semasiological side of the etymology does not require any discussion, cf. Foerster, Rom. Stud. III p. 181.

g) =  $u < \bar{u} + ct$

a) **frocho** F. Juzgo pp. I V. L. 22 Esc. 6; 27 V. L. 5 E. R.

β) "**frueyt**, dos veces en un docum. en catalán, A H Benedictinas de Santa Cruz de Jaca . . . año 1294; y **fruyto** (*ua*=*ue* en bastantes documentos aragoneses) . . . en documento aragonés del mismo convento de Jaca."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I p. 150, cites a case of *muecho* from the *Fuero de Sepúlveda*. To the best of my knowledge the word is not met with in the text. The glossary contains it, but the glossary is "para la mejor inteligencia de este fuero [de Sepúlveda] y otros." The editor Callejas has taken the word from the glossary of the F. Juzgo.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. text "inducti."

<sup>3</sup> "Mortuo quidem dicto Imperatore, et partitione terrarum effectualiter facta . . ."

<sup>4</sup> "corpora . . . fuerunt translata."

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I p. 150 note 2.

h) =  $u < \bar{u}$

**fuerto** F. Juzgo pp. 91 V. L. 16 S. B.; 101b; 119 V. L. 13 S. B.

**nuedo**<sup>1</sup> Libros de Astr. I pp. 83 and 140. II p. 251. Juan García de Vynuesa<sup>2</sup> (Canc. Baena (1851) p. 446b: *muedo*; Michel II p. 99b: *denuedo*). Thus still in Colunga, Munthe Anteckn. p. 81.

**suelco** F. Navarra p. 45a.

Similar to the case of *liende*, *suelco* etc. may be the result of the equation *furza*:<sup>3</sup> *fúerza* = *sulco*: *súelco*. In fact, I feel more and more inclined to believe that equations like those mentioned are admissible (cf. §4), and that they will explain all the cases of the false diphthong *ue* or *ie* as contrasted with Castilian forms with *u* or *i*, so that midforms with *o* or *e* are not absolutely needed.

4. Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. §3, 1, states with regard to such forms as *fuerma*, *luedo*, *pueco* that they are due "á falsa corrección del dialecto leonés hablado por gallegos que, habituados á poner diptongo leonés en voces que en gallego tenían *o*, ponían fuera de propósito otras veces *ue* donde el leonés no tenía sino *o* como el gallego." In the light of the material presented in §3, this statement needs revision. It neither takes into account the cases of Leon.-Ast. *ue* over against Cast. *u*, nor those of *ie* over against Cast. *e*, respectively *i*, nor finally the cases of the false diphthong *ue* or *ie* in Navarre-Aragon. Need we, for the explanation of the latter fact, have recourse to Galician, respectively Catalan scribes? I think not, and offer the following simpler solution. Spanish diphthongization of tonic *ě*, *ǫ*, if it did not originate in Castile and spread from there to Leon-Asturias and Navarre-Aragon, checked by the influence of Galician-Portuguese (respectively Catalan), took on well-established forms earlier in Castile than in Leon-Asturias and in Navarre-Aragon. This fact is amply illustrated by a comparison of thirteenth-century documents from Castile with other documents from Leon-Asturias and Navarre-Aragon. The latter show not only far less consistency

<sup>1</sup> < *nūdu*, Menéndez Pidal, Manual §2 (p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> "fué, á lo que parece, natural de Vinuesa de Melgar, en la provincia de Soria," Canc. Baena (1851) p. 685 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. Juzgo pp. III V. L. 10 Esc. 6. "y así otras veces;" 4 V. L. 16 Esc. 6; 53 V. L. 6 Esc. 6.

in the treatment of tonic ě, ō, but also—and with equal inconsistency—diphthongization of ě, ō even where it is not found in Castilian, viz. before palatals. Cf. Gessner, *D. Leonesische* p. 5; Munthe, *Anteckn.* p. 29; Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. leon.* p. 18. The same “unsichere sprachgefühl” manifests itself in *mocho* etc. Under the circumstances we may safely seek the authors of *fuerna* etc. in Leon-Asturias, respectively Navarre-Aragon.

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